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The news of the break between the Cominform and Tito, first announced by Prague's RUBE PRAVO on 28 June, was distributed by the Soviet radio the next day. Avoiding comment of its own, Radio Moscow limited itself to factual reports of the Cominform communique, beamed first to the Soviet home audience and then to foreign audiences.

Following this up with reports of foreign press reaction, Moscow on 6 July reported the Soviet Communist Party's refusal to attend the Yugoslav Communist Party Congress on 20 July because the Yugoslav Communists had excluded themselves from "the family of Communist Parties." And, approximately a week and a half later, the Soviet radio carried a Cominform journal article deploring "the departure of the YCP leaders from the Marxist-Leninist theory of classes."

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During this initial period, however, Radio Moscow issued no commentaries of its own or of the Soviet press.

B. MOSCOW'S FIRST INDEPENDENT COMMENTARY--YUGOSLAV "TERROR"; 25 JULY 1948

Moscow's first direct comment took the form of articles by PRAVDA's Belgrade and Bucharest correspondents on the Yugoslav Communist Party Congress. (The Belgrade correspondent's article was broadcast in at least 13 different beams.) They charged that the Congress was conducted in an "atmosphere of cruel terror," with critics of the Party's leadership "removed from their posts and arrested." Furthermore, the Congress was said to have taken place "under conditions of complete isolation from the international Communist movement."

C. APPEARANCE OF CHARGES THAT TITO IS ANTI-SOVIET; AUGUST-DECEMBER 1948

During the first part of August, the word "traitors" was applied to the "Tito clique"--but they were "traitors to international socialism," not explicitly to the Soviet Union as such. It should be noted, too, that up to this time the Soviet radio still occasionally broadcast reports (although in declining frequency) about instances of economic progress and "upsurge" in Yugoslavia--just as if that country were still one of the "New Democracies."

But on 15 August, towards the end of the Danube Conference, the first charge of an "anti-Soviet policy of the Yugoslav Communists" was heard. And on 8 September, a PRAVDA attack, broadcast in at least 10 different languages, accused the Tito group of:

"making a common show with the imperialists, pouring abuse upon the Communist Parties of the popular democratic countries and the USSR to the joy of the imperialists all over the world. Instead of a united front with the Communist Parties, there has resulted a united front with the imperialists."

This was the first explicit identification of the "Tito clique" with the imperialists. At the same time, however, Moscow was careful to point out that the campaign against Tito did not constitute "a campaign against the Yugoslav Communist Party" as such. On the contrary, the Tito faction was said to be "at war" with the Yugoslav Party.

On 17 September, a lengthy commentary by E.N. Burdzhakov, Chief of the Party's Agitprop Lecture Group, on "The International Communist Movement," made the point, repeated later,*

* On 13 March 1949, for example, the broadcast of an article from SLAVYANE, organ of the Slav Committee of the USSR, proclaimed that "to be a proletarian internationalist today means, in the first place, to be friendly towards the Soviet Union and the Peoples Democracies and their block"--but the Titoites "have deserted proletarian internationalism."

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that "relations with the Soviet Union form the cornerstone for all Socialists," and that the Titoites "have embarked on a policy of breaking away from the united front."

Throughout the rest of the year, however, Moscow's main attack was maintained primarily on the level of Party theory and practice, with exorations of the Titoites' "anti-Leninist balderdash" and "chauvinism." Optimistic consideration of one element in the power structure of Yugoslavia was occasioned by Yugoslav Army Day when Moscow (22 December) declared that "the Yugoslav Army will remain faithful to the interests of the people," and that the day is not far distant "when the Yugoslav people will pronounce their final word."

D. CEMA AND THE CONDITION FOR YUGOSLAVIA'S RETURN TO THE FOLD; JANUARY - 12 FEBRUARY 1949

January brought the formation of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance and the first exchange of notes, initiated by Yugoslavia's complaint over being excluded. The Soviet reply (12 February), branding the complaint "groundless" and explaining that Yugoslavia's "hypocrisy and hostile attitude prevent its participation," at the same time noted the desirability of Yugoslav participation--the prerequisite for which would be the "(abandonment) of hostility towards the Soviet Union and (reversion) to the old policy of friendship."

E. THE MOUNTING OFFENSIVE; 15 FEBRUARY 1949 TO DATE

Up to this Soviet note of reply, the volume of Moscow's attention to the Tito deviation had not been especially heavy. From then on, however, Soviet broadcasts have been marked by an increase in both the volume and intensity of attacks on the deviating Titoites.

(1) Tito's Anti-Sovietism and Imperialism: On 15 February, three days after the Soviets' general definition of the conditions for Yugoslav participation in CEMA, Radio Moscow told Serbocroat listeners that the Titoites had discarded Marxist-Leninist teaching and through their anti-Soviet policy were aiding the imperialists in attempts to split the international workers' movement and the forces of Socialism. The mask of "sincere friendship" for the USSR, the broadcast said, is donned for purposes of demagoguery and deceives no one; the friends of the Tito clique "are to be found in quite a different camp."

On 19 February, Kozlov, in a Cominform journal article distributed by Moscow, charged flatly that the Titoites have "definitely passed into the imperialist camp." And, approximately two weeks later, another broadcast Cominform journal article declared that "at last, the mask of 'friend of the USSR' has been dropped," that the Tito clique is now "openly endorsing anti-Soviet propaganda," and that it is "openly horse-trading with the imperialists"; the "foul

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comedy played by the Yugoslav nationalists" can no longer fool anyone. (Broadcast on 3 and 4 March)

Within another two weeks, these charges were made even more explicit in the broadcast (on 13 and 14 March) of a SLAVYANE article accusing the Titoites of "having become 'a weapon in the hands of the imperialists of the U.S. and Great Britain' and 'deadly enemies of the Soviet Union.'" (On 17 March, this charge was relayed to China on Moscow's Mandarin-language beam-the first occasion that a monitored Mandarin-language broadcast discussed the Tito situation.)

During the weekend of 20 March, Moscow carried another Cominform journal article, this one entitled, "Anglo-American Imperialists Applaud Tito's Clique." It stressed that "Tito's betrayal" had been maturing for a long time, during which the traitors were preparing to "go over to the imperialist camp." And, since then, accusations of Tito's anti-Sovietism and imperialism have become a standard element of Moscow's attack on him and his colleagues. For example:

- 5 April: "The Titoites have chosen this crucial moment to declare open warfare on the Soviet Union and the Bolshevik Party by ceasing all propaganda against Anglo-American imperialism. ... The Tito clique has gone over for good to the Anglo-American imperialists."
- 17 April: The Titoites are "secret adherents of the Atlantic Pact."
- 17 May: Coincident with their sell-out to the West, the "Tito traitors are even making concessions to the Italian capitalists."
- 18 May: In a discussion of the "economic enslavement of Yugoslavia by the Anglo-American monopolists," it is charged that the Titoites have "started open collaboration with the Anglo-American imperialists."
- 1 June: The Titoites are called "the assault troops of the imperialists."
- 17 June: The Tito clique "has degenerated into... a servant of the imperialists."
- 22 June: "The Titoites are transforming Yugoslavia into a semi-colony of Wall Street and London's City" and "have sold Yugoslav interests to the Anglo-American imperialists." "The Tito gang has become one of the assault detachments of present gangster imperialism."
- 7 July: "Today, one year after the Cominform resolution, Tito's nationalist band has revealed itself as an agency of imperialism.... The provocations of Tito against Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania have shown that Tito's band has undertaken to carry out the orders of its masters, the imperialist warmongers."
- 8 July: During the Paris CFM meeting, it is charged, with reference to the Corinthian question, that "behind the back of the Soviet Government the Tito clique conducted negotiations with the Anglo-American imperialists, offering a compromise bargain."
- 17 August: "The little Belgrade czar" is accused of planning to make his "Greater Serbia" into a "fascist base of aggression directed against the Soviet Union."

(2) Greece and Tito's "Stab in the Back": 22 June to Date: Moscow's first monitored reference to Tito's relations with the Greek guerrillas appeared in a Serbochron broadcast of

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22 June* taken from a NEW TIMES article stating that "Tito's agents have established contacts with the monarcho-fascist hangmen of the Greek people and are stabbing in the back the heroic fighters of Free Greece." On 7 July, the Greek guerrilla radio openly joined in the propaganda battle with Yugoslavia, accusing the Yugoslavs of assisting the monarcho-fascists at Kaimakchalan. And, 10 days later, Moscow distributed a Cominform journal article on the alleged betrayal, followed swiftly by independent station comment and news reports to the effect that Tito's Kaimakchalan "deal" was made in exchange for a U.S. loan. (in Serbo Croat, Greek, and Macedonian, 20 and 23 July)

Since the initiation of the charges about Kaimakchalan, Moscow's accusations about Tito's betrayal of the Greek guerrillas have expanded to include the following claims**:

- 25 July: The Yugoslavs have joined Greek Government forces in "provocations" against Albania and directly participated against the guerrillas in the Vitsi and Gramos fighting.
- 3 August: The Yugoslavs are planning to hand over Yugoslav-interred guerrilla refugees to the monarcho-fascists and have refused to recognize the guerrillas' "right... to solve the problem of the refugees' children and of all Greek citizens who entered Yugoslavia."
- 14 - 28 August: "Tito's treason was like oxygen which revived the agonizing Truman Doctrine" and has enabled the Anglo-U.S. imperialists "to strike a decisive blow at the liberation movement in Greece."

(3) Tito's "Greater Serbia" Dreams: Tito's "hostile attitude" toward the Peoples Democracies and the "brotherly Communist Parties" has, from the beginning of the row, been a standard accusation hurled against Tito. But on 20 March, a commentary by Moni Io Jono singled out Albania as one of the main objects of Tito's alleged search for imperialist aggrandizement. Tito's "anti-Albanian campaign" has been a topic of Moscow's concern ever since. Leading to the Cominform journal's claim (broadcast by Moscow on 17 August) of Yugoslav plans for actual aggression and to Sedin's recent NEW TIMES attack (6 September) on "imperialist intrigues" and

* Prior to this time, the Soviet radio had been silent on the question of Yugoslav-guerrilla relations, although its attacks on Tito were beamed to the Greek audience. During May and June, its broadcasts concerning Greece were devoted largely to the Soviet peace proposals, announced originally by TASS on 20 May. On 6 April, the Greek guerrilla radio had broadcast a 28 March speech by Zaccariades alluding to Anglo-U.S. imperialist connections with Yugoslavia, but this allusion was framed in terms of alleged imperialist attempts to "take advantage" of Yugoslavia to create trouble in the Balkans, and Tito was not directly attacked or condemned.

** Although Tito's alleged attempts to divide the Greek Communist Party and to seize Greek Macedonia were described in a Cominform journal article by Zaccariades (and reportedly distributed by Moscow, 1-9 August), these issues have not been commented upon by Moscow, nor has the Macedonian question appeared in monitored broadcasts since the circulation of the article. It may be noted that in terms of Moscow's overall output about Yugoslavia, the recently noted attacks on Tito's betrayal of the Greek guerrillas constitute a relatively minor detail (in terms of volume) of Moscow's campaign. It may also be noted that coincident with the charges of Tito's betrayal, Moscow has continued to refrain from direct comment about the situation and prospects of the guerrillas.

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"Greek and Yugoslav fascists' machinations over Albania"--in connection with which Sedin calls for U.N. action against the "irresponsible enemies of the independence of small nations."

(4) "Bolshevik Unforgiveness": On 9 June, the broadcast of an article from NAPREL, Sofia emigre paper, announced "Bolshevik unforgiveness toward nationalist deviators."

(5) "A Newly-Born Fascist Dictator": The term "fascist" was first applied to Tito in an Enver Hoxha Cominform journal article, broadcast by Moscow on 4 August; Tito was then the "newly-born fascist dictator" and a "claimant to the role of Mussolini in Southeast Europe." Since then, the term has become a standard epithet for Tito.

(6) The "More Effective Measures": Moscow has not elaborated on the USSR's 20 August threat of "more effective measures" against the Tito clique. As from the beginning of the Cominform-Tito split, Moscow has done little more than to claim growing Yugoslav opposition to the Tito clique which will allegedly be punished by the people themselves. On 2 September, the broadcast of a Cominform journal article became somewhat more explicit, claiming that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia "has ceased to exist and has become an auxiliary police organization and an American party"--but that "honest" patriots and Communists have already begun to rebuild the Party underground. "The number of illegal Communist organizations is steadily increasing."

(7) The Recent Notes: The recent Soviet notes to Yugoslavia resulted in a completely unprecedented volume of Soviet radio vituperation against the Yugoslav leaders, most of it repeating or elaborating the charges and claims contained in the notes themselves. The following figures give some idea of the density of the recent Soviet radio barrage:

The 26 July note was broadcast at least 15 different times. Through 11 August, this was followed by 22 different commentary attacks against Yugoslavia, broadcast on at least 80 separate transmissions.

The 12 August note was broadcast at least 54 different times. Through 19 August, this was followed by 14 different commentary attacks against Yugoslavia, broadcast on at least 108 separate transmissions.

The 20 August note was broadcast at least 48 different times. Through 28 August, this was followed by 16 different commentary attacks against Yugoslavia, broadcast on at least 77 separate transmissions.

The 29 August note was broadcast at least 44 different times. Through 8 September, this has been followed by 22 different commentary attacks against Yugoslavia, broadcast on at least 71 separate transmissions.

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